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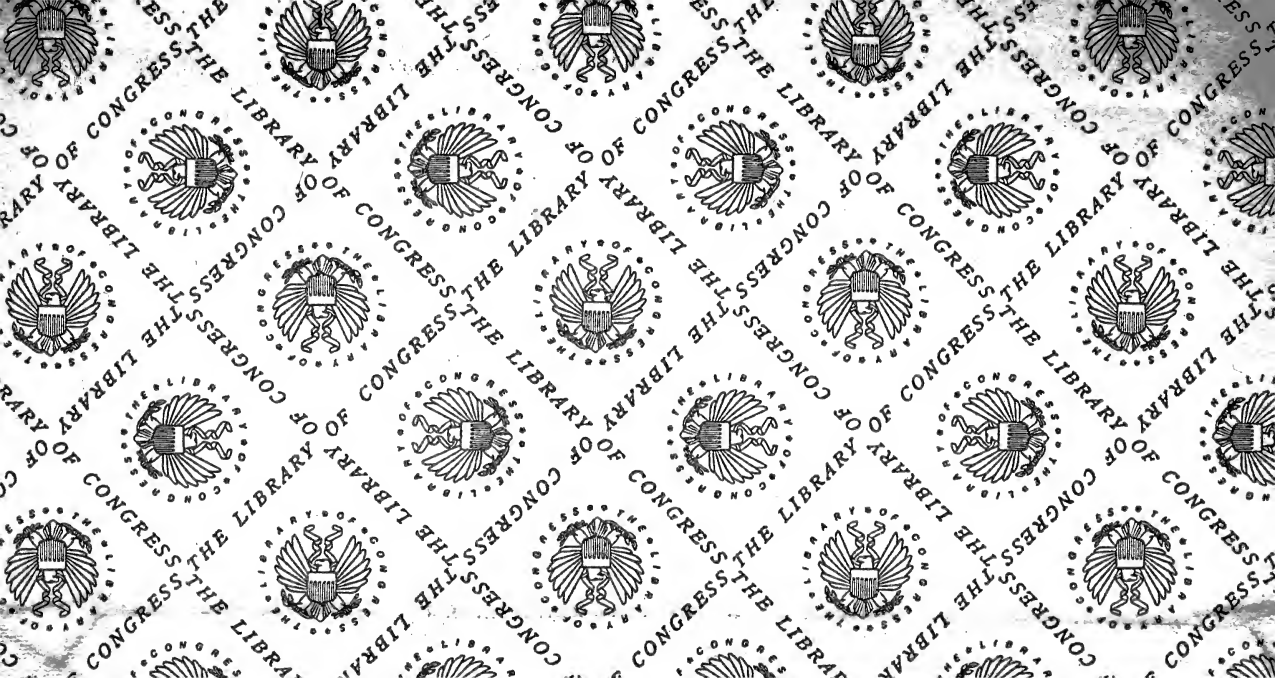
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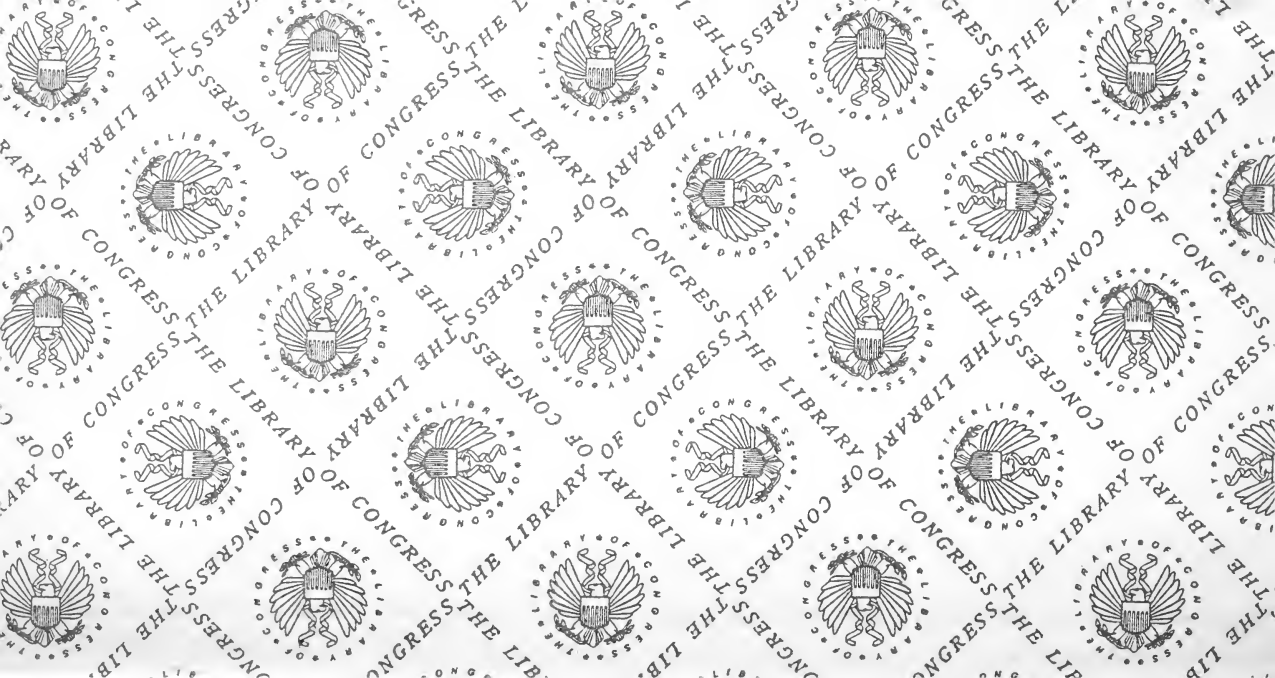
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THE

# QUEEN OF ISLANDS,

AND THE

# KING OF RIVERS.

WITH A CHART OF OUR SLAVE AND FREE SOIL TERRITORY.

BY CORA MONTGOMERY.

[These Chapters of a forthcoming work, entitled "Our Mother Land," are published in advance, with the consent of the Author, by the friends of Cuba and the Union.]

NEW-YORK:
CHARLES WOOD, 82 NASSAU STREET.
WM. ADAM, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

1850.

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BY CORA MONTGOMERY. presented

Mrs Wm L. Gazneau.

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# THE QUEEN OF ISLANDS.

## CUBA AND HER DESTINY.

An oppressed nation stands in the gates of our confederation and pleads with God and man for liberty. Borne down by foreign soldiers, for whose support she is taxed, until almost the necessaries of life are doubled in price; deprived of freedom of speech, of press, and of conscience; forbid to discuss or even petition for relief, and overwhelmed by importations of slaves from Africa, whose presence she does not desire, but who are held upon her disarmed citizens in perpetual threat, Cuba has reached that point of suffering in which it becomes suicide and crime to remain passive. Cuba belongs to the Cubans, and they have a right higher than human conventions—a right directly from the throne of Divine Justice—to govern themselves on the soil they give to civilization by their intelligence, and to utility by their toil. Not to admit this axiom is heresy to our republican creed, and we are false to the faith of our revolutionary sires if we deny to others the truths which they bled to leave us in sure heritage. If Washington acted right and Jefferson reasoned well, Cuba cannot be wrong in following their example.

Most of the Creoles of the Island are republicans at heart, and the press and institutions of the Union are the object

and theme of many secret meetings and midnight prayers. Exile, imprisonment, ruin and death, await the hardy apostles of freedom; but still they offer themselves freely to the work, and their number, courage, influence and combination disturbs the rest of the governors of Cuba, who in vain seek to stifle them with new oppressions. On one occasion a party of these determined revolutionists conveyed to the woods a small printing press, such a one as Franklin used and "Common Sense" was printed on, and there in silence of night they worked off their revolutionary appeals. This and every other effort was pressed too close by the military and police, and some friends of Cuba, connected with the New-York press, encouraged the idea of establishing an Anglo-Spanish paper at a convenient point beyond the reach of the Governor-General, from whence the truth and light could be cast into Cuba, and her popular thought moulded into some form of general organization. *La Verdad* (The Truth) was thus called into existence, and its plan may be useful to other revolutionists who cannot print the truth at home. The paper is—and has been two years—issued at New-York, and circulated gratuitously in the Island of Cuba and Porto Rico, and all along the margin of the Mexican Gulf, from whence the aroma of its sentiments penetrates to its destined mark. The talent and money of the Cubans support it so ably and liberally that the leading personages of the Spanish government are bounteously supplied with valuable information concerning their own conduct and affairs through this medium, and not less have the American journals found in its columns their most copious and reliable accounts of the situation of Cuba. The Island press is not allowed to speak of public affairs except in such terms as the royal censors direct; and the world at large mainly learns through it and by fragments from private letters—also written under dread of a strict post-office

inquisition—what Cuba thinks and suffers. Under the counsels of "Verdad" committee of exiles, and in union with her phalanx of resolute sons at home, Cuba is organizing for revolt; and perhaps even as I write the sword is flashing from the scabbard: but whether the effort of to-day is successful, or temporarily quenched in blood, the seed is sown and the harvest near. Spain may not be richer for the fruits of Cuban industry in 1850; and what American would put forth his hand to aid in riveting the fetters of a people who bravely strike at kingly oppressions, and risk all for the enfranchisement of their country and children?

"Cuba has the power, as well as the will and wisdom, to be free. She cannot be kept forever in bonds, endowed as she is with a population of 1,200,000; with a revenue of twenty millions; with the intercourse and light attending sixty millions of outward and inward trade; with a territory equal to some of our noblest States; with a soil teeming with the choicest productions; with her forests of the most precious woods; with her magnificent and commanding harbors; with her unmatched position as the warder of the Mexican Gulf, and the guardian of the communication with the Pacific. Cuba the peerless—Cuba the desired—Cuba the Queen of the American Islands—will not consent to remain always a manacled slave at our threshold; and when her chains do break, the echo will vibrate, whether we choose or not, strongly on our interests. The United States can no more say, "Cuba is nought to us," than Cuba can detach herself from her anchorage in the portals of our American sea, or her sentinelship over against the entrance of the thousand armed Mississippi.

When the inevitable day arrives in which the key of the Gulf falls from the hand of its European master, it must take one of these three positions; and either of them will involve grave considerations for this republic:—

1. Cuba, by itself or with Porto Rico, may sustain an independent attitude.

2. United to St. Domingo and other islands under the protection of England, she may head a "Republic of Antilla," subject to a preponderant negro population, and obedient to the British policy of creating a colored empire in the lap of the twin continent of America.

3. Cuba annexed to this Confederation may make another pillar in our temple of Union, and another balance-wheel to the Confederation.

The fate of Cuba, with her million souls and boundless hereafter, may be submitted to the verdict of our people before 1850 has run its last sands, and a just, wise and magnanimous nation would not willingly meet unprepared this momentous question.

Calmly, soberly, and dispassionately, like true and loving children of the Union, reverencing and guarding in filial love our mighty nursing mother; like republicans and like Christians, ready to admit and perform our whole duty to man, let us candidly examine our future relations with Cuba.

It is more than idle to build upon the conservation of the *statu quo*, for even those who affect to preach it must see that it cannot be maintained amid the reeling powers and crushing thrones of Europe with which it is entangled, and whenever or however the change comes, it must result in *Cuba annexed*, or *Cuba independent*.

The comparative value to the Union, of Cuba as a part of ourselves, or Cuba subject to foreign, if not hostile influences, has a threefold bearing on our interests. It affects us as citizens of individual States—as a nation in the face of other nations—and as a race in relation with the other races of the earth. In weighing, as we ought, each separate consideration by its own merits, it is desirable to avoid per-

plexing theories, and bring each phase in succession to the test of solid facts and indisputable arithmetic.

## WILL THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA BENEFIT THE DOMESTIC INTERESTS OF THE UNION?

Cuba seems placed, by the finger of a kindly Providence, between the Atlantic and the Mexican seas, at the crossing point of all the great lines of our immense coasting trade, to serve as the centre of exchange for a domestic commerce as extensive as our territory, and as free as our institutions. It is only after a careful study of the incredible extent and variety of the products of our thirty States, with all their grades of climate, and in the whole circumference of their natural and manufactured wealth, and then only with the map of North America distinctly before the eye, that the importance of Cuba, as a point of reception and distribution, can be fairly understood. If her matchless harbors were not locked up by foreign jealousies, and our ships could but find themselves always at home for shelter, water, and refreshment, at this commodious halting place, it would be worth a round purchase sum to our traders, independent of the safe keeping of the Gulf, and the command of her precious staples.

From her central throne she sees our long line of coast break away in numerous links of diverse interests and productions, which must yet intercommunicate past her doors to come to market and value. To the northward she glances along the two thousand miles of seaboard and deep harbors of the "Old Thirteen," all turned toward her to receive her sugar and coffee, and supply her with bread and clothing, even though under the limits and disadvantages of the restrictions of her Spanish masters.

Towards the West, beginning with Florida, which is almost within touch, lies another two thousand miles of bay and inlet, bordering the States on the Mississippi and Gulf of Mexico, those magnificent later acquisitions which have doubled the wealth, power, and domain of the Union, and whose cotton bales have been more efficacious teachers to manufacturing Europe than cannon balls. Opposite, she looks up the arteries of the mighty king of rivers, who embraces in his far-reaching arms an imperial family of sovereignties, before he comes with the tributes of many climates to seek a reservoir for his ten thousand miles of steam navigation.

No one State of the Union is so accessible to all the others as Cuba. Neither does any State command, like her, every direct avenue to our territories on the Pacific. She stands almost midway in the line of transit between the Eastern cities and California, whether we go by the Isthmus of Panama, by Lake Nicaragua, by the near but strangely neglected Isthmus of Cortez, or by the shortest overland route on our own soil, *via* Texas and the Paso del Norte. It is the invaluable resting-place and point of interchange for all our steamers to the Gulf coast, to the West India Islands, to the various Isthmus routes, and to South America. Under all the vexations and expenses of a foreign and unfriendly system, our merchants can so badly dispense with Cuba for a place of rest, refreshment and exchange, that they submit in silence to many illegal exactions, and conceal from the American public many indignities to our flag—as in the cases of the Hecla and Childe Harold—rather than forego access to the port of Havana. If Cuba was fully and freely our own, we would as soon think of casting New-York out of our calculations of commercial wealth, as this splendid and necessary mart for all our coasts. As an outpost, vital to American trade and

defence, and as a centre of transit and exchange, Cuba must grow in importance to the whole family of the Confederation, in even measure with the growth of the States on the Pacific, and the rising tide of Oriental business which our free and fortunate stars are about to lead from Asia across the Isthmus. She lies exactly in the track of the golden current, and none of the States are, like her, in a position to watch and defend every inlet and outlet.

In the circle of production, essential to a home supply, always sure, and independent of foreign interference, Cuba can fill nobly the remaining gap, with her coffee, cocoa and tropical fruits. In this, too, she would serve all her sisters of the Union, for she would sell to every one and buy of every one, which is not true of the special product of any other State. She would also add as much as the Union really needs of sugar lands, and would maket hat henceforth a strong and distinct feature in the national balance of interests. A new sectional interest always implies another mediator in the councils of the Confederation—a proved truth in favor of the permanent equilibrium of the Republic which the opponents of annexation refuse to take fairly into account. The manufacturing East, the wheat and cattle-raising West, the commercial Middle States, the cotton-growing South-West, the rice and sugar planting Sonth, and, last and latest, the new-born and gigantic mineral power starting up on the great northern lakes and seaming the continent, down to the far Pacific, with a broad zone, have, each and every one, their independent sectional weight and representation, as well as a diffused reciprocal dependence on each other, and on the Uunion as a whole. In the perpetually recurring—but under these balance checks never fatal—State opposition, every distinct interest is a distinct guarantee for the general equity of adjustment. We have seen in the slavery discussions how far sectional bitterness

can go, when the whole Union is reduced to two parties, with no disinterested and intermediate powers between them, to urge peace and teach conciliation. Yet even in this stress we shall find at last, that the counsels which open the way, and the votes that compel moderation and compromise, will come from almost a third interest.—The Middle States, those that lay along the line of division, and those that are themselves in transition from slave-holding to emancipation, will come to the rescue and forbid extreme measures. Cuba may suffer from the dispute between the free and slave cultivated States; but apart from this, she would come into the Union without offence to any, and to the absolute profit of every partner in the Confederation. In bringing to the commonwealth a class of luxuries which every State largely demands and consumes, and which are not produced in our present limits, she also brings to the Union fresh elements of mediation, harmony, and stable equipoise.

The money value of this circulation of natural products would be more conspicuously evident if Cuba could trade with us on family terms, unembarrassed by the heavy and wasteful hindrance of the Spanish tariffs. Official documents show that out of the 20 or 22 millions of dollars of annual exportations into Cuba, fifteen millions are in provisions, fabrics, lumber, and meterials which one or the other of the United States could better supply than any other country; but through the multitude of taxes and restrictions imposed by European policy, not more than a third of it comes from our fields and factories. Our industrial classes lose by this system the stimulus of ten millions a year—sufficient to employ and support forty thousand laborers—while the Cubans only obtain, under these exorbitant imposts, about one half as much for their money as they would get of us in a free, fair market.

Lines of steamers and sailing vessels would doubtless be established from all our leading sea-ports, from Havana to Matanzas, the year they could be assured of freedom, security, and permanency, under our flag, since, under many vexations and uncertainties, we now employ in the Cuban trade a large tonnage. The custom-houses of Cuba report the clearance of not far from one thousand American vessels in a year—from the summer of 1848 to the summer of 1849—and the table of imports and exports proves that this handsome mercantile fleet would be doubled, if purchase and supply were relieved from the multifarious trammels of the Spanish tariff. The Cubans import $20,000,000 a year of such commodities as the United States produce, and could readily supply her on better terms than the Islands can buy of distant Europe, if we were permitted to compete in open market; and then these commodities would be conveyed to her in our own ships.

Of the $60,000,000 of annual imports and exports of this fertile and extensive Island, three-fourths ought, and would be managed by our merchant marine, if it were embraced by our government.

By reason of this system of preventions our shipping interest can only employ 476,000 tons in a year in this trade, for which it pays $1.50 a ton duty to Spain, while it would find advantageous service at once for a million of tons if the ports of the island were free to our country. This brief outline of the domestic and pecuniary inducements to annexation are based on official data, and it is kept within the mark for the convenience of using round numbers; but from it we can deduce whether the States would gain or lose by the accession of Cuba.

In 1846, a fraction more than one fourth of the entire imports of Cuba were from the United States, and if the same ratio holds good, as is probable, we send to Cuba the

current year about $8,000,000 in American productions. Meanwhile something more than $10,000,000 of similar articles of commerce are brought in from Europe, to the heavy disadvantage of the Cubans, by a stringent system of protection for Spanish products. To specify:—Flour from Spain pays a duty of only $2. 50 the barrel, but from this country, and in American ships, it pays $10.50. Thus, to compel the Cubans to eat the inferior Spanish flour, injured by a sea voyage of 4,000 miles, this enormous tax is laid on an essential article of daily use, though, for the sake of revenue, $2.50 is also laid on the article from the mother country. These duties, freight, and other expenses, raise the cost to the consumer to $18 or $20 a barrel, and limit, of necessity, the luxury of good bread to the wealthier classes. Set aside these impediments, and instead of the 300,000 barrels now entered, and chiefly from Spain, a million barrels would be annually demanded by the 1,200,000 inhabitants of Cuba. The climate and soil of Cuba is not adapted to the profitable cultivation of the kinds of provisions which the habits of the day call for; but she produces exactly what will most acceptably pay for them where they are best, nearest, and most abundant—in the United States. If Cuba wants flour, fish, cured meats, and other provisions, to the amount of $10,000,000, which she could, in unshackled trade, buy of us better than anywhere else; if she requires in articles for house and field, in fabrics of raiment, necessity or luxury, to the amount of $10,000,000 more, so, too, do the United States import 150,000,000 lbs. of coffee, at $8,000,000, and sugar to the amount of $9,000,000, which, under the impetus of freedom, and the encouragement of a profitable reciprocity, Cuba could very well supply. It must be borne in mind, that a vast amount of rich coffee and sugar land lies waste and untouched on that Island, which would bloom into a garden, under the genial breath of liber-

al institutions, as her own staticians estimate but one-ninth of the soil enclosed.

The Upper Mississippi and the Ohio States are the chief losers by the flour exclusion; for Cuba, fronting, as she does, the outlet of the mighty valley, is very accessible to that trade; but all the grain States share in the loss, for they all buy sugar and coffee, and could all undersell Europe in the ports of Cuba. The mineral region is also a larger loser than at the first glance would be thought possible. The staples of Cuba are raised at a considerable expenditure of implements and machinery, in which iron and copper hold a conspicuous share. That class of imports, nearly all of which are manufactured in this country, but are discouraged from seeking a market in Cuba by an average impost of 35 per cent. are brought in to the amount of $2,000,000 annually, and with a steady increase of demand. This should, of right, almost entirely be paid to the forges and workshops of Pennsylvania, and the States west of her, who construct the articles in question, such as ploughs, hoes, spades, boilers, and all the et-ceteras of Southern husbandry, and sell them in all the markets in our Gulf and Atlantic States, from 80 to 200 per cent. less than the over-tariffed Cuban pays for the like. Consider the effect of these exorbitant charges on provisions and implements on the net receipts of production.

New England is not less concerned in unbinding this trade, for besides the nine millions which should be paid to our farmers, and the two millions in metals, implements and machinery, which of right should float to her from down the Ohio and Mississippi, Cuba annually requires cotton and woolen fabrics and ready-made furniture and apparel to the invoice value of three millions more, all of which the Yankee looms and mechanics should create. Fifteen millions are therefore imported into Cuba which our citizens

in the mining, manufacturing, and agricultural States should supply, and which the ships of the commercial sections should convey, and this mass of needful food, raiment, furniture, and implements for house and land, when broken up in detail and overwhelmed at each step with fresh impositions, do not cost the Cubans less than thirty millions of dollars.

Nothing escapes those excessive contributions, and they are always to the disadvantage of American industry.—Carts, carriages, and furniture, pay about 100 per cent.; yet, on account of bulk and distance, Spain leaves to us the principal supply, even under this liberal protection. The Eastern and Middle States send about $1,000,000 a year, at a rough estimate, for there is no reliable date at hand, of those conveniences; but still the Island is scantily supplied. Cotton and woolen goods range from 27 to 33⅓ per cent. duty by the letter of the tariff; but under their system of re-appraisal they pay more, and the official returns show upwards of $3,000,000 in description of goods manufactured in the New England States, and sold in our retail markets, all over the Union, at from 30 to 100 per cent. less than in Cuba, whose producers in this way lose one-third or one-half the benefits of their income. A careful revision of the charges on imports corresponding to our list of American fabrics and productions, with the invoice prices, and the usual rates paid by the consumer, will convince the simplest understanding that is willing to be candid, that $20,000,000 of the $30,000,000 (keeping to round and approximate numbers) of annual imports into Cuba, ought, if the interests and convenience of the direct producers and purchasers were consulted, to come to the industrial classes of the Union. Not only would the fostering dew of $20,000,000 support in comfort many thousand families now landing on our shores, in search of homes and employment, but it would

bring to the tables of all our people the delicate fruits of the torrid zone, in which Cuba abounds, at prices far below anything we have ever known. The rapid steam intercommunication between sister States, and the splendid geographical position of the "Key of the Gulf," would bring Havana as near St. Louis and New York, as they are to each other, or to New Orleans, and in more prompt interchange with all the cities of the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, than those coasts can be with each other.

As an open, safe, and reliable haven of rest, aid, and supply, beyond any fear of foreign hostility or interference, standing midway as she does on the path from the Atlantic to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by the way of either Isthmus, and most particularly by the Isthmus of Cortes, the shortest though most overlooked of all of them, and commanding the ingress and egress to the Gulf, and all the coast of Mexico, the control of this Island is of immense, of incomputable importance to the dignity and independence of our coast commerce. It even stands interferingly in the way between the Atlantic ports and the Gulf terminus of the short land route to California, on our own soil, now in course of survey by United States' Engineers, and which a pioneer merchant train of 80 wagons is now traversing under General W. L. Cazneau, with a view to penetrate to the markets of Northern Mexico by the new and direct line from the Gulf. It is the priceless jewel that clasps into one magnificent unbroken chain, the vast circle of our Pacific, Gulf, and Atlantic trade. We only require this one link to belt 5,000 miles of sea-board in close and continuous mart and commercial unity, presenting, on every side, a well connected defence against the pretensions of rival or enemy. Whenever the trembling, restless Seal of the Gulf drops from the nerveless finger of Spain, there will be some envy in Europe, but little open resistance made to its passing into

the grasp of our Eagle. When this republic assumes the charge, Europe will retire from this continent, and thenceforth on all our coasts we will ask nothing but our steam marine, and the splendor of our flag, to command the respect of the world for our commerce.

## WILL THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA ADD TO OUR STRENGTH AS A NATION?

The reply is written on the map of North America, and in the last ten years of her history. The elements of our outward strength and defence—like the points and possibilities of foreign annoyance—are visible to any capacity that has received the free, broad training of American thought.

With our vast and varied territory and our self-dependent habits, more than to any other nation, it is desirable to us to maintain the freedom of our coast trade beyond every fear of insult or embarrassment.

It is desirable that a foreign nation should no longer boast that it can at any time "cut in two the trade between the Gulf and the Atlantic States, and break up at pleasure the sea communication between New-Orleans and New-York."

It is desirable that we should ourselves command the outlets and inlets of our own inland seas, and hold open in our own hands the best avenues to our territories and trade on the Pacific.

It is desirable, for the integrity of the Confederation, to protect thoroughly the sea door to the shortest overland route to California on our own soil, which is accessible to the greatest number of States, and also opens to them the not less important though unexplored mineral regions of Centralia.

It is desirable that a negro empire should not be consolidated by a hostile power within a few days sail, by steam, of fifteen hundred or two thousand miles range of our seaboard, and held in leash to cast its ferocious hordes upon that long defenceless line of towns and settlements to burn and slaughter until exterminated.

It is desirable also to be more independent of standing armies, with their train of military burthens and privileges above the law, and it is not less desirable to escape the charges and bad example of a costly and unrepublican navy, and create in its stead a powerful and self-supporting steam marine.

If on the accession of Cuba turns the gain or loss of all this, it will not be denied that its purchase would be an economy, and its admission a rich gain to our republican strength and majesty.

Without recurring to the importance of Cuba as a Mart of Exchange, at the most accessible crossing-point, to all the thirty partners in our confederation of trade and production; or to her value as a buyer and seller in all our markets, and the cheap supplier of the tropical productions not yet included in our home list; or to her weight as the employer of our ships and mariners the amount of twenty, or, under the impetus of freedom, thirty millions a year, she would be a tower of strength and a rock of defence to all our coasts. Her whole seven hundred miles of length is one mighty fortress: each one of her hundred hill-crowned bays is a haven of shelter to our adventurous ships, and an outpost to sentinel every movement of offence and bar out every act of hostile import. Standing like a proud and faithful warder in the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, yet stretching far to the east, so as to overlook and intercept any unfriendly demonstration upon either of the great thoroughfares to South America or the Pacific, she is in a

position to overawe the islands around her, and watch and defend the outside approaches to all the Isthmus routes to the Pacific, while she guards the portals of our vast inland sea, the reservoir of the Mississippi and Mexican trade, the rendezvous of California transit, and, what has not yet been duly heeded, the outlet of an immense, though new-born, mineral wealth, which is yet to control the metal markets of Christendom.

Half a dozen steamers would bridge with their cannon the narrow straits between Yucatan and the west point of Cuba on the west, and between Florida and Matanzas on the north, and seal hermetically to every aggressive stranger the entire coast circle of the American Mediterranean. This simple geographical fact constitutes Cuba the key of the Gulf, and it would be felt if it passed into the grasp of a strong and jealous rival. England, firmly resting on Cuba, and with Jamaica and Bahamas to flank her steam operations, would have full retreat and succor for her fleets, and would be able at need to concentrate the force of an empire against our coasting trade. With such a firm and convenient cover as that island, with its self-defended coast and secure harbors, she could face, Janus-like, in every direction. With Canada and the Bermudas—raised for that purpose into a strong naval station—opposite our centre on the Atlantic, and half-way between those strong extremes, she would present a dangerous front to our northern coasts, while she executed the bold threat of her Minister, to "shut up the Gulf of Mexico, cut in twain the commerce between it and the Atlantic States, and close the mouth of the Mississippi and its hundred tributaries to the trade and assistance of the shipping and manufacturing States." But strike Cuba—its central and noblest jewel—from this diadem of power, and her broken circlet of American strongholds is no longer worth the wearing.

England—controlling Cuba on the north, as she claims the Mosquito shore on the south, and mistress of Balize on the west, as she is of Jamaica on the east—would be the arbitress of the Caribbean sea—even now almost her own, and well guarded by her long array of Leeward and Windward Islands from other intrusion.

The same steam fleets that watch, and the same Island Key that locks and unlocks the Gulf of Mexico, with our long chain of Rivers and States dependent on it, also watches the inlets of the Caribbean and locks and unlocks the gates of the Pacific. Cuba, the Queen of the Antilles, unrolls her long barrier exactly in the path to the Pacific, whether by the Gulf or Isthmus; and whoever holds her, commands the great highway to Mexico and South America, to Oregon and California, and the Pacific. If it were ours, we would soon cut asunder the narrow bar of land that parts the oceans, and turn the revolutionized trade of the world into our own inland sea, where we should know well how to defend its treasures.

The command of the shortest route by sea and by land to our distant territories, is a national necessity only to be computed by our estimation of the value of the safety, harmony and progress to the Union. The omission to secure the right of way across the Isthmus of Cortes to Tehuantepec, and to carry our southern boundary so far south as was needful to open a fair and practicable land route on our own soil to the Pacific, was an inexpiable and disgraceful lapse in those who signed a peace with Mexico. The only remedy for this dereliction, is in guarding for the future such communications as we do possess between the remote members of the Family Compact, from future chances of hostile interference.

The shortest land routes from the older States to California, Oregon, and the immense but faintly known mineral

regions of the great central basin, runs through Texas and touches the Gulf at Corpus Christi; and all the *practicable* land routes to the Pacific abut eastwardly on the Mississippi, if not on the Gulf, and are all included in the imperial ring of seaboard to which Cuba is the closing diamond. If it comes to the Atlantic States to decide who shall hold this door to the Gulf, to the Pacific, to the mines of California, to Oregon and the whale fisheries, to the East India trade—trebled by the use of steam and the Isthmus,—to China, in whose markets our merchants will soon turn to profit a doubled and quadrupled capital by monopolising, through the shortened distance, the sale of our cottons and the purchase of her teas and silks; will they refuse the fifty millions a year which it will pour upon their exhilarated industry, in their fields, factories and shipyards?

At this moment England commands two-thirds of the most valuable commerce of Asia; but the United States gains rapidly upon her, and the entire change in the course of trade, by conducting it across the lower line of North America, instead of around Africa, will transfer to this republic the sceptre of commerce—if not of manufacture—within ten years. Let our manufacturing and trading capitalists estimate if they can the value of Cuba to their interests, as a centre of intelligence and exchange, and an advanced post of guard and defence. With Cuba for our watch-tower, the merchant and mail steamers which must naturally be employed in the enormously increasing traffic and emigration that circulates past and around her, would be the cheap and sufficient defence of our coasts. No nation would dream of wresting such a well-fortified possession from the vigorous grasp of the Union; and too powerful to fear, and too just, it is to be hoped, to make aggressions, we could trust the protection of our flag to its known greatness. We could displace fearlessly our unpopular sailing navy

for a steam mail marine, useful and self-supporting in peace, yet capable of becoming, at the shortest warning, a formidable element of war.

When Cuba passes into our constellation, we may dismiss two-thirds of our standing army, and turn three-fourths of our expensive fortifications into Houses of Instruction and Refuge; for England, against whose threats and pretensions they are chiefly maintained, will depart from this continent when the cannon of Moro Castle thunders a republican welcome to the Stars of the Confederation. That salvo will destroy her last dream of supremacy on this side of the Atlantic, and at its voice she will abandon the shattered remains of her splendid chain of colonies to be gathered in their ripeness to the embrace of the Union.

In 1845, when the independent press had roused the people, and urged our laggard government into some energy of action, her power and possessions enfolded us on every side like the coil of a serpent. Her Northern Provinces were linked by her steam-ships in an unbroken circle, with the Bermudas, Jamaica, the Belize, the Mosquito Shore, and across the Isthmus, which she controlled, to California, at which she aimed, and Oregon, which she partly held, until the bands met again, and thus completed a line of circumvallation around our territory. We broke forever her closer and stricter circle, and tore from her three precious points, when we annexed Texas, obtained California, and removed her Oregon claims far north of Columbia River. That decisive blow expelled her influence from our Southwestern border, while we improved our boundaries, and, Cuba excepted, had nothing left to interfere with us in the Gulf. The exclusive acquisition of this noble extent of territory on our Southern line, widened and weakened the vaunted cordon of British power around the Union; but while the hope of Cuba remained, she had still a brilliant

and potent line of reserve. She still stretches across the continent on our Northern border, shares with us the empire of the lakes, domineers over our highway to the Pacific, and stands midway in the path of our coast communication. Cuba is the precious clasp that joins or disjoins the Gulf and Pacific with the Atlantic lines, and ruinously opens or nobly closes the disconnected parts of her magnificent American plan. If it falls into our chain, and closes the circle for us, and against her, the matchless band is broken, the fragments become so, and, whether Canada or the Islands, without cost or conquest, our confederation will absorb British America, and make the ocean her boundary, and its waves our army of border defence.

## HOW WILL CUBA INFLUENCE SLAVERY?

It is difficult to steer truly and justly between the Scylla and Charybdis of Northern and Southern prejudices, but we may safely aver this much: If England settles the destiny of Cuba, her lot is prefigured in the story of Jamaica, Hayti and Martinico.

If she becomes really independent, the whites, who are but little inferior in numbers to the blacks, will maintain the ascendency by their superior intelligence, and slavery will probably be abolished by slow degrees.

If the United States receive her, humanity will at least rejoice over the suppression of the slave trade, and a mitigation of the horrors of the Spanish system of servitude, that "deepest hell of cruelty," as an indignant Creole of the island terms it. The Spanish conquerors, as merciless as they were avaricious, enslaved and scourged to utter extinction the gentle and confiding Ciboneyes whom they found on the soil, and now annually destroy, by brutal

treatment, more slaves, *including free-born Mexicans entrapped into servitude*, than all the plantations in all our slave States put together. Their own staticians calmly account for the horrid mortality among the slaves by "the severity of their labors and insufficient food," but never hint at redress or remedy. The supply is kept up by an energetic importation from Africa, under the patronage of Queen Christina, who employs in the slave-trade much of the $25,000 a month which she draws from the revenues of Cuba. In the last twenty years, and since President Adams prevented the independence of Cuba, which would have shut out this undesirable accession, more than 160,000 negroes have been brought in from Africa—430 slave ships having entered Havana alone, without counting the other ports of the island. The fees of the Captain-General, at three doubloons a-head on these importations, are no inconsiderable item in his perquisites. England has a right, by solemn treaty with Spain in 1817, and re-sealed in 1820, to end this infamous traffic, yet it proceeds vigorously under her eyes. Is it that even by this means she is willing to increase the negro majority, while she awaits the hour in which Cuba can be added to the black empire she is fostering within striking distance of our Southern States, and which she can at any moment hurl, with the force and precision of steam, upon our coasts?

Not only is this open protection lent to the African slave-trade, while white immigration is as openly discouraged, but large bodies of Indians are inveigled out from Yucatan and Mexico, and reduced to slavery. These men are sunk into the slave-gangs, where they are lashed, pilloried, and chained without pity, under the sanction of the Governor, who has conferred this authority on the masters by a formal decree.

The admission of Cuba would at least set these freemen

at liberty, and stop the importation of 8000 slaves every year from Africa, and this would be something saved to humanity and the character of American population. It is scarcely open to discussion, whether, in a comprehensive view, the colored race would gain or lose by Cuba coming within the range of our institutions; but there can be no doubt whatever that the condition of the white half of her population would be infinitely softened, elevated and improved. It is not the fashion of the day to think of the good or evil resulting to the eighteen millions of white Americans, when a measure touching the supposed interests of our three millions of blacks is in agitation, and still less where races are so nearly balanced as in Cuba, and although the abrupt supremacy of the blacks would drive to ruin, or exile the half million of whites on the island, we are not permitted to reserve any anxieties for them.

In Hayti the negroes have had unlimited power—as in Jamaica they have had unlimited equality—and what advance have they made in happiness or civilization? In the plenitude of their undisputed sway, they have murdered, insulted, and driven out the whites in St. Domingo, and no authority prevented; they have governed themselves, and no man has said them nay; yet in the mad, unchecked animality of their untaught, untamed masses, they have heaped upon each other more sufferings, more bloodshed, more tortures, and, even in that beauteous island of plenty, more downright want and misery among their population of 780,000, than could be inflicted on our thrice that number of slaves, in the presence of a white community. This is proved by their own official statements of murders, riots, outrages, and military punishments. It does not prove that slavery is a good, or that the race is incapable of better things; but it does prove by the conclusive evidence of experiment, that hasty emancipation has its evils for the un-

prepared Africans themselves, even though we refuse to count for anything what befalls the whites.

To those who argue that emancipation is too slow in the States, I will not reply that it can move no faster, but I appeal to the chart of the Union to prove that much has been done—and well done—for the race, in freedom, in instruction, and in colonization. In the British, and more lately in the French West Indies, unbounded means of improvement are enjoyed by the blacks, for there the presence and cultivation, and helpful example of the whites, who are in a minority of one-seventh, are made conspicuously subservient to the colored race, yet it is undeniable that their two millions are far worse fed, clad, and taught, than the two millions of the same lineage now living, slave and free, in the "Old Thirteen" States.

This parent band of the Federal compact were all of them slave-holding when they joined hands at the altar of Independence, and some of them—Rhode Island and Massachusetts in particular—were deeply engaged in the slave trade. Seven of them are now free soil, and two more, Delaware and Maryland, within a step of it; and to this number of emancipating States have been added eight more, that never were in effect slave-holding. The aggregate of this free soil territory, which includes all the States north of the Ohio—the splendid gift of slave-holding Virginia—comprises a larger area than the whole original thirteen States, and has unquestionably the preponderance in the national councils.

Our acquisitions of slave territory have failed to increase the comparative number and weight of the slave States, because they only served to drain that class of labor towards the South, and, as it receded, it set free at the North more States and large divisions of the colored classes. Fifteen States are already free, and five more—Delaware, Mary-

land, Virginia, Kentucky, and Mississippi—are in transition, ready to pass over to the side of free labor whenever the reference of such questions to the territories immediately concerned is established as a fixed principle, and they can abandon their posts, beside their slave-holding sisters, honorably and without danger to the equipoise of the Union. All the territory now held in common—sufficient in area to make forty of the largest States—must inevitably come in free, with or without the interference of Congress, as the climate and character of production will make slave labor unprofitable. To balance this wide domain of free soil, there is but a comparatively small band of States along the extreme South, and to which the Island of Cuba can make no frightful addition.

Our immigration from Europe in a single year amounts to as much as the whole total of the slave inhabitants of Cuba, and after that last fragment of thraldom is brought within the pale of light and freedom, there can be no farther additions. The eighteen millions of whites will enlarge *their* ranks by emigration as well as births, and make stronger every year the disproportion of numbers, but the blacks and African servitude can draw no recruits from abroad. While State after State supplants and drives out unprofitable slave labor by the low wages of sound, mature, and intelligent white industry, hereditary servitude must contract its limits, until it is compressed into those regions of hot, unhealthy marsh in which negroes thrive, but which the constitution of the white man is unequal to the charge of redeeming from jungle and morass—and there slavery will end its mission and depart forever.

The non-slaveholding States would show a most ungenerous sectional spirit if they object to the addition of Cuba to the political weight of the South, for her vote will not give the South an even, much less a controlling voice. Besides

the majority in the House of Representatives, and an equal vote in the Senate, the fifteen Free Soil States are confident of taking, before 1860, five States more from the opposite scale, and thus changing the present imperfect equilibrium, to an advantage on their side of twenty States to ten. Add to this the certainty that six new States—California, Oregon, Minesota, New Mexico, and Nebrasca—will complete their non-age during this period, and must beyond peradventure take their places in the national councils among the non-slaveholders, while but two slave States from Texas, and possibly Cuba, are all that can be hoped for by the diminishing slave minority. Twenty-six free soil to thirteen slave States is the number and proportion that by every antecedent we may expect to sit in the thirty-fifth Congress. If, as is possible, the number of States exceeds that calculation, still the ratio of one free to two slave States will not vary much, and with this assurance before us, it is nonsense, if it is not hypocricy, to reject Cuba under the plea of giving "too much power to the South."

For the individual States, for thd Nation, and for the ultimate good of the races, it seems wisest and kindest to invite Cuba into the Compact of Union, and subject the crude and undeveloped negro family to the crucible of gradual emancipation. The interests of the human family demand that it should not be made the nucleus of a negro empire watching a European nod to foray our coast villages, while our domestic and foreign policy equally cautions us to win as promptly as we may the key of the Gulf, and hold with firm sovereignty the gates of the Pacific.

# THE KING OF RIVERS.

The Mississippi is mighty in his imperial dignity, but more mighty in his lessons of unity and confederation. That matchless tide is the magic cestus which ensures the harmony of the sovereign sisters of the Union, and no peevish eruption of unsisterly jealousy can dispart the silver zone that so firmly and graciously binds their varied climes and products into one common interest. The Mississippi is the most persuasive mediator, the most energetic arbiter, and the most vigilant defender of the federal compact, linking into one chain of communication fourteen powerful states, and nearly half our entire population. Gathering to one outlet uncomputed thousands of miles of navigable waters; holding in a condition of facile interchange a vast series of diverse, yet mutually dependent, agricultural, manufacturing, mining and commercial interests, there is no fraction of the wide territory enfolded in the embrace of the hundred armed river, that could cut itself from the rest of the body, without destroying the growth and vigor of its own fair proportions. Free-soil Iowa and Illinois may chide the heresies of slaveholding Kentucky and Louisiana, but not the less must wheat-growing and lead-producing Iowa and Illinois vend their wares, and buy their sugar and cotton, in the markets of their southern sisters, while their highway river holds open invitation to come and go in unrestrained profit and good will, and rebukes the intemperate folly of sectional aggression.

In ascending the Mississippi, you pass through all the climates of the temperate zone, through a countless variety of production, through infinite changes of scenery, and through every phase of sectional prejudice. Leaving behind, on the fertile, but hot and unhealthy sugar plains, the darkest and most tenacious shades of African servitude, the tints lighten step by step, and state by state, up to the lofty, health-inspiring shores of genial Kentucky and adventurous Missouri, where slavery visibly relaxes its grasp; and onward, to the romantic and enchanting heights of Iowa and Wisconsin, where it never had a hold, until finally, at Minesota, the beautiful cradle of this marvellous stream, and two thousand miles above your starting point, where you saw its waves salute the sea in sullen grandeur, you hear the brief and proud declaration of territorial freedom: "Every state *must*, and every territory *ought*, decide for itself, and by itself, whether it will admit or exclude slavery."

In the month of June, 1849, I stood on the island that cleaves asunder the wild chaos of amber-hued waters, forming the cataract of St. Anthony, that second Niagara, whose overwhelming sublimity silences the mortal beholder; and before that heaven-reared altar, with its veil of diamonds, and its rainbow crown, I almost vainly essayed to remember there was another world outside of this stupendous whirl of elemental warfare—a world of petty efforts and pigmy human strifes. Yet there, with nature ringing her high eternal anthem in cadence with the plaint, a daughter of the Dacotas detailed the wrongs of the red race, and completed a lesson which I had half-learned at the other extremity of that far-reaching river.

"Here the torrent is colored with the tears of the red man, for the red man's tear is blood," she said, as she extended her graceful arm towards a rift in the falls where a clear column gleamed coral bright through the parted drapery of

pearl-white spray. "Far away, where our snow-hills are forgotten under a burning sky, these waters wear another stain—the stain of the black man's tears of dust and sweat."

A sad truth is shrouded in the Indian girl's wild poetry. Minesota, Iowa and Wisconsin, grieve over the woes of the African slave a thousand miles off, while, with every art of diplomacy and war, they chase the poor Indian beyond their border, and take counsel, openly, how to despoil him of his hunting grounds, and exile him forever from the graves of his ancestors, and the dear haunts of his boyish sport and manly daring.

Louisiana and Mississippi thrill with indignation at the sufferings of the Indian, as he recedes before the eager march of civilization, or dies in her embrace; but they look calmly on the bondage of the African. Each compassionates largely the sin that is not of its own neighborhood, and reconciles itself to the pressure of the evil at home, until conscience and convenience can meet to adjust a settlement, and agree upon the remedy.

The older states hunted down the red men, and enslaved the black ones, until the land was all in white hands, and free servants became more profitable than purchased ones, and then conscience immediately opened her slumbering eyes and raised her head from her gold embroidered pillow to pray for the repose of the slaughtered Indians, and emancipate her useless Africans.

Those states which have thoroughly exterminated and dispossessed the Indians, and who have no large Native American land reserves to bar the speed of the axe and the plough within their limits, are tranquil and tender-hearted on Indian matters, just as those who have escaped from the cares and incumbrances of a redundant negro population, are at leisure to censure those still yoked to the burthen.

In those border states, where they are even now receiving

their baptism of blood and fire in Indian forays, and where every white person counts for the full worth and value of a human being in the muster-roll of civilization, they do not dwell so heavily on a red man shot, or a black one over-tasked, but they turn pale with horror when they read of the stern serfdom of chain and lash in which sailors are crushed in our commercial cities, or the hard servitude of poverty which binds thousands of young maidens to the harsh hours and tasks of our eastern factories. States like Kentucky, that have no troublesome Indians in their household—that have drained off their superfluous Africans, and are about exchanging slave labor for more economical hired service, and who are making encouraging advances in mines and manufactures, contemplate with serene indulgence all the prosperous and legalized forms of servitude that flourish in their bounds; but their indulgent moderation aims, nevertheless, at future amendments. They lead the van from their position in the career of amelioration; but it is only by this favored position they are enabled to be such clear exemplars, and so far ahead in the school of fraternity. In time, the dwellers in more ungenial latitudes will come up to the point these leaders now occupy, for freedom and light are urging all their children on the upward course. In the glance backward over the path they have travelled, the foremost pretenders to supreme humanity must confess the lesson taught by the desert-born, but educated daughter of the Dacota chief at St. Anthony's Falls.

Oppressors and oppressed dwell everywhere; but it is only the unfamiliar form that moves general and active abhorrence. This impulse against African servitude which agitates the northern states—to whom it is unknown—and exasperates in its defence the south, who declares it a stringent necessity of self-preservation to the whites, is—at least with the masses—but a geographical morality. A human-

ity of latitude and longitude, modified by climate, relaxing under the moist heats of the south, and intensifying in the cold winters of New-England.

In three short weeks I had touched the extremes of southern and northern oppression. On the same river, under the same religion, government and language, I had seen the African in hereditary bondage, hopeless of freedom for himself or children, and daily driven to his task by bodily fear, yet careless and content in his glossy well-fed health, and making the sunny plains resound with his songs, until the most resolute abolitionists doubted whether this child of an undeveloped race, still in the imbecility of its unprepared animal dependence, did not require the social polity that gives him a master to tend his wants and compel him to learn the use of his hands and mind.

On the upper waters of the river I saw the home of Black Hawk and his braves in the occupation of the whites, and heard the broken-hearted remnant of his tribe relate in a cold despair, too deep for tears and complaints, that the barren desert assigned them by a mocking treaty was whitening with the bones of half their women and children. They did not lament—but they did not smile—when they told that beside every lodge was a grave. I saw the Dacotas, who have of their kindred many educated persons of mixed blood intermarried with their plunderers, yielding up in stern and silent gloom their chosen hunting grounds, and their sacred altar stones, hallowed by immemorial tradition of martial rites and Dacota glory; and none could look upon this decaying race, and upon the stony, joyless composure with which they face the path of exile and death, and say as we do of the laughing, dancing slaves, "This is a happy race." The dweller on the Upper Mississippi puts his foot on the neck of the expiring Indian, as he exclaims, "Behold the cruelty of the slave-holder." The dweller on the Lower Mississippi

raises the lash over the African, and retorts, "Behold the injustice of the Indian-oppressor." Missouri and Kentucky, who have tasted both evils and yielded to both temptations, turn to the north and to the south, and say, "Judge ye gently one of the other, for ye know not the weight of your brother's cross."

## THE LAND OF THE SUGAR-CANE.

Louisiana is the sugar plantation of the Union, and no soil in its limits yields a more generous return to the cultivator, but in entering the state from the gulf it gives no such promise of wealth and fertility. We left the bright and lovely banks of Corpus Christi, where the flowers never cease to bloom, and the fresh breeze never forgets to play in the fairy groves that dot, like emeralds of deeper tint, the green savannas, and it was a chilling contrast to meet at the mouth of the river the dreary waste of turbid waters cutting their sullen way through the still more dreary expanse of black mud. All the southern border of Louisiana is a labyrinth of wide shallow lakes, interlaced by sluggish bayous, and surrounded by interminable marshes, seamed at intervals with veins of higher land along the water-courses. Forts Jackson and St. Philip stand on the dividing line, between the domain of man and reptiles, for it is just at the head of the vast peninsula of mud, created by the river sediment, and not yet solid enough to bear trees in which the wide current divides itself and seeks the sea by several channels. Above, cultivation begins to be possible; below, only the alligators can find a home. An isolated pilot village—an anchorage of handsome white houses—has started up at the Balize, and greets the eye like a cluster of lilies in a dark marsh; but that is a commercial, not an agricultural growth.

After passing the forts, the "coast" soon becomes radiant with verdure and beauty. The voices of busy men come from the field, the plantation houses glance brightly out of their bowers of foliage, and every sight and sound is redolent of luxuriant fertility. This "coast" is nevertheless a proverb of fear to the slave. Its sugar plantations accept for their severe toil the stupid, vicious and refractory slave drainage of all the States, and here exists the harshest discipline and the least kindly bonds between slave and master. Yet the negro population thrives more gaily under even these disadvantages than in the mildest of the free States. They have no heed for the future, and are not loaded with the cares of self-goverement. Let it be understood that I touch not the justice or injustice of slavery. I deal simply with the facts within my sphere of observation, and leave what is above my handling to divines and philosophers. The slave population of Louisiana seems to be in that primary stage of developement in which the animal nature predominates; and if the animal wants are satisfied, and the feebler mental capacities not overtaxed, they are happy. This whole region is so noxious to white constitutions that it would lie undrained and useless; and we should have to resign altogether the production of sugar and rice, until we had reared in starving poverty a Paria caste of whites miserable enough to undertake it, if we had not a race of African laborers to whom it is more genial. The redemption of five millions of acres, now subject to overflow, but capable of rich returns in rice and sugar, will add immensely to the health and beauty of Louisiana, as well as to the productive wealth of the Union; but under existing circumstances it could only be done by whites at an outlay of life and suffering far beyond all the blacks endure. The acquisition, in 1803, of the Mississippi Valley and its noble highway, doubled the territory of the States, and greatly increased the power and

standing of the nation, by giving it the control of the cotton supply in the markets of Europe. This sudden and gigantic step in annexation struck terror into the hearts of all the timid patriots in the Union. They predicted the disruption of such an unwieldly, overgrown republic, and declared it to be impossible to govern and defend such an extent of thinly populated territory. Above all, the anti-slavery men, who were not then a sectional party, but scattered lightly all over the country, north and south, inquired anxiously how the accession of a new twentieth to the number of slaves was to affect the course of emancipation. Time has answered all these questions.

In 1800, the immense valley watered by the King of Rivers and his tributaries, had less than four hundred thousand civilized inhabitants—about one-fourteenth part of the population—now it has seven millions, and counts one-third of the votes of the Union. Then the colored population made one-fifth of the whole, now it is reduced to a seventh, and the white preponderance is increased every year by emigration from Europe.

Of the states formed out of this territory, five are free-soil and six are slave-holding; but of the latter, two are preparing to emancipate before 1860, and another—Minesota—will come in a free-soil state, so that this region, at the present rate of progress, will number, in a very short time, eight free states to four that are slave-holding, and this early result I impute chiefly to the extension of slave limits. The introduction of a new and enormously profitable cultivation, which, from the peculiar nature of the soil and climate, was unwholesome for the whites, created a rapid demand for negroes on the sugar-cane fields of Louisiana, and raised the price of slaves throughout the Union. Tobacco was still a highly encouraging crop, and cotton was about to become one of our most precious staples, so that the older

southern states had a home demand that aided to enhance the rising value of slaves, and, in a parallel degree, the wages of free labor. The northern states felt the advance in the wages of their hired servants, and the corresponding high standard of dress, food and comforts for their slaves, which public opinion and the example of white laborers enforced on the masters. The rearing and maintenance of slaves became, on the average, more than their services were worth, and the most robust workers were gradually sent towards the south, which also became the punishment of the heavy-headed and unmanageable. Their place was supplied by emigrants from Europe, who were attracted by the large wages and cheap lands of the young republic even before they learned to appreciate its institutions. The character of the colored population in the northern states, thus purified of its roughest dross, soon attained the level of self-government. Emigration more than filled the blank left by the retiring blacks, and labor kept its balance with capital. If there had been no addition to our cotton lands, and if sugar had not come to demand new laborers at any price, wages would have crept up more slowly, and there would have been less inducement for foreigners to come to this country. The impetus from the cane-brakes of Louisiana vibrated to the shores of Ireland. The long file of toilers that marched into the fertile but fever-reeking plains of the Mississippi was not broken, until, at New-York, the last departing rank saw itself crowded away, and its place taken by a sturdier and more intelligent European band. The servitude of wages had supplanted the servitude of purchase. It is not a palatable truth, but it *is* a truth, nevertheless. No state has emancipated until the colored population was inferior in numbers to the laboring class of whites, and at that point slavery becomes a burthen, and it is gently put to death. Thus the apparent gain to slavery of a vast territory really

set free as many states at the north, and even the addition of resident slaves it made at one extremity of the Union was more than balanced by the number emancipated at the other. In the great valley itself, the call of slaves towards the south opened a speedier day of entire freedom, by diluting and thinning that class of servants, and inviting in, with the temptation of ready work and wages, a higher order of white service. Slaves never were profitable in New-England, because the quality and quantity of clothing, bedding and housing, required in their long, cold winters, was an over-balancing item. There is so much care, thrift, and intelligence demanded in the usual routine of labor in that hard-featured land, that a heedless and improvident race was rather a burden than a profit—taken, as slaves must be, from the cradle to the grave—and New-England generally sold to milder latitudes the Africans her ships brought to America. She was an importer, not an employer of negroes; and when the slave trade was abolished she forthwith washed her hands of the whole business, and set down conscience-clean to lecture her neighbors on their slow-paced morality.

## THE CRESCENT CITY.

In ascending the Mississippi, it is well to pause and observe, in its very citadel, the workings of slavery. It is the fashion to say, that the mere presence of slavery stagnates the flow of industry, and impedes ruinously the prosperous advance of any country; and there is a certain amount of truth in this—as there is in all popular errors; for they must have a little breath of vitality to live—but it is a partial and distorted truth.

It is true, that educated and self-governing industrial classes are the ablest supporters of the state, but all producers have their value.

Of all the cities in the Union, New-Orleans is the only one that doubled its population in two successive census decades, ending in 1840, though Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Louisville, did nearly the same thing. In each case this miraculous prosperity has the same magnificent source—a free water transit by river, lake and canal, of well nigh twenty thousand miles. The character and resources of the country in tribute to the respective cities will, if studied with other local causes, explain perfectly the variations in their present and future career, independent of the question, whether the bone and sinew expended there were strained under the urgings of hunger or of the lash. With a free commerce, at home and abroad, and the natural mart of the fifteen degrees of climate and latitude, for which the Mississippi is the conductor of trade, New-Orleans must be rich and powerful. Her straight, well-paved, nobly built streets, with their colonnades of beautiful trees, her stately edifices, her splendid charities, her river embankments of almost fabulous cost, her railroads, her canals, her suburb towns, that are themselves fair and prosperous cities, were all redeemed from a pestilential morass; and—like the capitol of Rome and the temples of Greece—it is the labor of slave hands. The slave markets of those illustrious republics stood in the midst of their forums and palaces, while one taught and the other conquered the world; but it is not a necessary sequence that the lords of ancient civilization were sinless in forgetting the rights of toil, any more than the modern planter or manufacturer who imitates their oversight. The noblest men and the proudest nations of all ages have been more or less thralled in defective systems, and only the Supremely Wise, who sees all the antecedents and all the environments of the case, can decide how far they are the masters, and how far the victims of their lot. The majestic steamers that border the Crescent City like a forest, seem full of life and power,

but they can only move on the element on which they find themselves, and blindly obey the small and simple wheel that appears so insignificant in the general mass. Man's interest is the governing wheel, and circumstances, born before he saw the light, compose the elements of his action. Almost divine must be the nature that can altogether shape these influences to his aspirations.

The progress of the amelioration of the African family is witnessed at New-Orleans with more distinctness than anywhere else. Leaving aside those of mixed blood, the blacks who have been four or five descents in contact with civilization, and who have been taught, though by the rude apprenticeship of slavery, to exert their energies, have unfolded into a much higher people than the original Africans. The developement of moral and intellectual powers has strikingly improved the form and expression of their features; and from a hideous tribe, capable only of animal incentives, gratifications and attachments, they have been brought up to the standard of moral capability. From this vantage ground, the race among us will go rapidly forward, under the impetus of white example, whether in freedom or servitude. With the intrinsic elevation of the colored population, and with the introduction of white servants, who mark out the pattern, custom is commanding for them a system of kinder treatment and more generous indulgences from their masters. It is a generally conceded fact, that the laboring classes of Europe are not so well fed and clothed, nor so lightly tasked, as the southern slaves; nor is there in most countries of the old world more attention paid to peasent instruction than in Louisiana and Mississippi, who have the worst and most uncouth colored population in the Union; and, what is an interesting collateral fact, it is also the most indifferent to freedom. I have known many instances of slave mothers—of the better order too—such as hair-dress-

ers, lady's maids, *marchandes* (those who go about to sell goods,) and seamstresses, refuse to make very moderate sacrifices to purchase their own and their children's freedom. Whoever has lived much in southern cities is aware that large numbers of the brightest slaves hire their time of their masters, at a fixed price, and work out at their trades to great advantage for themselves. Almost any of these could buy their freedom by practising, for a few years, the industry and economy which a free-born man of the north must practise all his life, to win a decent independence; yet it seldom happens that one of them will make the necessary self-denial. There are noble exceptions, but they are rare. The race is not yet cultivated up to the point at which intellectual aspirations overcome animal propensities; and it is a question with some, whether that point can possibly be attained in slavery. The whites have attained it in other countries, under equal or greater disadvantages, and the yoke of serfdom fell from their necks. Let us hope everything therefore for the blacks.

The northern states, when lightened of the guardianship of a numerous class, aliens to them by prejudice and striking physical differences, provided liberally for the education of the colored children still remaining among them, and in those branches of study which require memory and imitation, rather than research and laborious comparison, they have succeeded precisely as well as the whites. In the full and continued developement of the race still higher results will follow. The same results, though more imperfect and partial in their scope, are visible at New-Orleans, and more particularly in the mixed bloods. That class are polite and graceful imitators of the most polished examples they see; they all sing and dance with a certain proficiency, and observe and learn whatever falls within the limits of the senses, but they eschew vigorous mental effort. They are develop-

ing under rough tuition, but it so far suits their necessities that the improvement is perceptible. The white foreigners, employed in offices one shade above them, are their aptest and most efficient teachers; and this description of persons are flowing rapidly into all the cities of the South. When I last landed at New-Orleans, a white hackman conveyed us to the St. Charles, the white porter of that princely establishment received the baggage, and white chambermaids attended me in my apartment. These are the avant couriers of emancipation. Slavery has spread over so large a surface that its weakened ranks cannot shut out competition, and white competition is the grave of slave labor. Whenever and wherever the white man begins to contend for employment with the African, he does not fail to draw reinforcements from the crowded armies of his kindred, who await his call; but the negro cannot recruit on this continent. He can only thin the States that are drawing close their lines for emancipation, and hasten for them the day that must eventually dawn for every State that opens its gates to emigration.

## THE TRANSITION STATES.

After passing the land of sugar and rice, and almost the land of cotton, we come upon the debateable ground which separates the sunny slave-cultivated plains of the South from the wheat fields and free labor of the Upper Mississippi. Kentucky and Missouri have not yet escaped from the pressure of a surplus colored population, and therefore have not attained the pure and unrelenting anti-slavery feeling of the exempted States; but the tide of emigration from Europe and the North is rolling on, and negro servitude must retire before it. A varied and complicated system of

production in mines, factories, and a subdivided agriculture, presents itself in these States, and demands a higher and more intelligent class of laborers. The Old World is pouring in its thousands and tens of thousands of artisans and farmers to fill this demand, on such economical terms as will displace slavery. From Missouri eastward, a zone of five States is trembling in the balance of transition. A reluctance—natural to their position and honorable to their good faith—to abandon their old allies, the slave-holders, not to mention the embarrassment of disposing of a large colored population, retards decisive action, but the struggle is closing upon them, and can only end in one way. Slavery has been driven from the whole area of the fifteen free States as an unprofitable burden; for it is a solemn truth, that no State cast it off while it was thought profitable—and its death-knell would now be ringing in all this broad sweep of transition States, from Delaware and Maryland, through Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, on and on, to the Pacific, if, besides the check of sectional agitation, there did not rise on either side a wall of obstruction against the drainage of their superfluous blacks. On the South, the slave States resolutely shut their doors, in self-defence, against the admission of free colored persons. They have already more than they know what to do with, and but for higher considerations of humanity, their interests would counsel a general expulsion of the whole class from the slave borders. On the North, there is almost as much discouragement. Some States absolutely refuse them an asylum, and in the remainder there is but cold welcome and scant employment for uninstructed blacks among the swarming thousands of white emigrants. It is not the least curious feature of our geographical morality, that it has never occurred to but one or two States in the Union to apply the abstract benevolence which they are so enthusiastic in teaching to others, to the short-comings of their own

position. Some States will not grant a shelter at all to the colored race, and few, indeed, have allowed them even a limited franchise; but most of them are willing to make up for this cold protection at home, by excessively warm lectures to the South in their behalf. This is well; for, in time, their impressive rhetoric on equity and equality may produce its fruits, and they may enter in very truth into all the blessings, social and political, of amalgamation. Heaven may deign, at last, to smile upon their sublime and unwearied efforts to this deserved fruition, but thus far such are not the signs of promise. A deep antipathy is rising and strengthening against these unfortunate aliens throughout the land. Any careful observer may read, in the firmament, clouds of retaliation and expulsion that will fall upon the race whose presence caused our domestic broils, whenever the storm breaks and the sky clears. The emancipation of this belt of transition States, which must ensue from the natural and uncontrollable laws of population, immediately that sectional opposition relaxes, will be the signal for vast and energetic measures for the transportation of the Africans to the original seat of their race.

The presence of a people with whom they do not think it well or wise to intermarry, is a light thing in Maine, New Hampshire or Vermont, where the colored persons—besides being of a caste infinitely superior to those of the South, by education and admixture of blood—are only as one in three hundred to the whites, or even in Massachusetts, where they count about one in a hundred; but it is more serious when, as in Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, they make one third of the whole population. The third, it must not be forgotten, which, from its moral and intellectual unpreparedness, is certain to be burthensome to the State. In Missouri and Kentucky, immigration has probably by this time—the eve of 1850—reduced the black population nearer a fourth of

their entire population ; but still the grave question is before them, " What is to be done with this mass of 150,000 souls of African descent ?"

This is a question which European philosophy finds so simple at three thousand miles distance. It replies, " Open to them your ballot-boxes and your family relations." But this side the Atlantic we have an invincible prejudice against this benevolent proposal of mixing to the Quadroon tint half of the States of the Confederation, or giving to the African suffrages the balance of power. Ungenerous, and unreasonable too, as it seems to people three thousand miles off, not one of the " Transition States" would consent to this arrangement, and however liberal the theories and wishes of the Northern *negrophilos* may be, none have spoken of enforcing their practical adoption at the point of the bayonet.

Missouri and Kentucky will not pause, however, in their career of emancipation. In the last ten years they have more than trebled their white laborers of the class in immediate competition with the colored producers. This has crowded the latter out of many branches of industry, and diminished the profits of slave-owning in a corresponding degree. To speak with more precision, white labor has underbid black, though both are well repaid in those favored States, and hire is becoming more safe and satisfactory to the employer than the risk and outlay of purchase. The same causes have swept steadily southward from the beginning of our nationality, and the march has never been swerved by any moral consideration from its chart of latitude. Slavery has receded before the climate and white laborers of the fifteen most ungenial States, and is only allowed a temporary halt in five more, who are flanked in prospective by two new ones in the Far West. Californa and Deseret continue the line from the Atlantic to the Pacific, across the fairest portion of the continent. On and

above this transition line are mines adequate to the supply of the world in valuable metals, water power to manufacture for the world, land to subsist in luxury a hundred millions, and means of intercommunication which the world may well envy. With this guarantee of twenty-four free soil States by 1860—for Minesota and Oregon will come into the ranks with the transition States—leaving of the present muster-roll but ten slave-holding States, who could be so weak as to fear the addition of one, two, or three slave States? Who does not see that the harmony and balance of the Union could not be endangered if all the continent south of the transition line down to the Isthmus were added to the slave-holding power? It would still be in the minority in territory, in population, and in States. If the slave force were diluted by spreading it over a larger surface, it would only invite more early and more urgently the presence and competition of free labor, and quicken the day of its final extinction. The map of the United States and the tables of emigration refute, in brief and irresistible logic, the fear, if there is really any one who entertains it, of the extension or preponderance of the slave influence.

## THE NECESSARY ULTIMATE OF SLAVERY.

It is conceded that slavery cannot retrograde to the realms it has left behind, nor can it ever obtain any effective foothold westward or northward of its present limits, however it might be tolerated by law. The whole nature of the country and its productions, and the increasing momentum of the emigrant power, join to forbid the possibility. We have in this vast domain space for forty of the largest states, and we have emigrants landing on our shores at a rate to settle half a dozen of them in a year. If those laboring foreigners

do not instantly urge before them into the unsettled territories the population requisite to entitle those territories to a name and place among the sovereignties of the Confederation, they remain in the older states to crowd forward our native-born masses to higher aims in newer fields, and to hurry away the lingering obstacle of slave preponderance in the transition states.

Already in the three-quarters just closed, of this year of 1849, it is computed that 300,000 strangers have come to our soil for fortune or refuge; and if this number were evenly divided among five territories demanding admittance to the national councils, they could not be refused—if the constitution is valid. It is not an act of condescension and free-grace in Congress to *accept* a state when it presents itself under the conditions prescribed by the constitution—it is an imperative duty. It is for the state, in the attributes of her sovereign power, of which she cannot divest herself, and which cannot be bartered away in her territorial minority, to arrange her own provisoes, and govern, like all her peers, her own domestic institutions, in her own independent manner. Yet there is, every year, less and less possibility of creating slave states, for the simple and definite lack of slave material.

The map of this union of states offers a cooling balm to whoever has a feverish dread of "extending slavery." It proves this "extension" a distinct impossibility, unless we borrow a new population from Africa to people the new states. When our Revolutionary sires swore to the Federal compact on the altar they had reared to Liberty, they and the states they represented were all slave-holding. There was not a spot of free-soil in Christian possession on this continent when they proclaimed the Charter of Independence and Confederation. Then all the great powers of Christendom were slave-traders, and endless were the disputes and diplomacy between Most Catholic Spain, and Christian France, and England,

"the example of nations," for a monopoly of its honors and profits. They claimed it between them and wrangled for the largest share, as they had divided and monopolized this continent. American colonies received the slave-trafficking vices with the language and laws of their mother-country; yet the Old Thirteen, of their own free-will and judgment, estopped the importation of slaves, though their wide extent of sparsely-settled territory cried aloud for more laborers. Of the brave Old Thirteen, seven of the states (for Delaware is on the fence) have withdrawn from slavery, and far more than half of the population and of the acquired territory is with them; and half the area and people of the remaining states are preparing to follow this illustrious example.

How can a statesman so trifle with his reputation for sagacity as to speak of *apprehensions* of the "extension of slavery," when he knows the very children of this land of light can prove their fallacy by a reference to a chart of the republic—that true and noble guide in which they are rarely uninstructed. The first sprightly boy of twelve he meets from our public schools, will run his finger up Delaware Bay, along the south line of Pennsylvania, then down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, until he touches the north line of Missouri, and again along that line and down the western limits of that state and Arkansas, to the Red River, and this child will tell him that all these fifteen largest states of the Union north and west of this line, and all the immense domain beyond them, and all their eleven or twelve millions of inhabitants, are non-slaveholding; and every one of them, from old Massachusetts to young Iowa, by their unbiassed act, for no pre-engagements—if they existed—*could* bind the will of an independent state. If the grave statesman doubts, this child will also assure him that every one of the forty states yet to arise in this outside domain must inherit the same rights of sovereignty, yet from

the circumstances of latitude and production, every one of them will step into Congress a non-slaveholder, as one after the other they receive baptism and confirmation in the congregation of republics.

Again, this youthful finger, anxious to re-assure the old man who is afraid to trust the Republic and her children, will trace the south line of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri—those states now visibly moving from slave to free cultivation, and who have been, and are, the bulwarks and nursing mothers of the younger states—and then this stripling of twelve, full of the confidence and enthusiasm of a nursling of the Union, will say, "When, in 1860, I cast my first vote, all these states will have passed through their transition trials, and this whole area, three times as large as all New-England, and even now having a greater population, will be free-soil and belted with other free-soil states not yet marked out or named in the maps of civilization, besides Nebrasca and Minesota." The eloquent politician takes counsel with his fears, and perchance with his ambition, how to retain an excuse for his resounding lamentations on the "immoral and destructive extension of slave limits;" but he cannot impress them on the boy of the common schools, for there he has been taught to understand the map, the history, and the constitution of his mother-land, and nothing can shake his loving faith in her wisdom and equity. For all reply to the vehement declarations of the graybeard, that she is slow, false, corrupt, imperfect, and unsatisfactory—the hopeful and trusting boy will turn to the second class of transition states, and dashing along the south margin of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, and on until he is lost in the unexplored Centralia of the west, he will add, "In 1860 there will be in those states more free white emigrants than slaves; and in ten years, or less, throughout the whole Union, if

foreign emigration remains but at its present rate, the entire black population, free and slave, will be outnumbered by the Europeans who come here for work, and then all this region will be engaged in dismissing their slaves. These facts are taught in our schools; are they deceitful, sir?" The statesman still hesitates to believe in the advancement and integrity of the Confederation, and he asks: "Where, then, do you children of to-day, who are to be men and voters in 1860, expect to find the limits and proportions of the positively slave-holding states, when a little later you shall come to the active guardianship of the Republic?"

"It will be confined to South Carolina and Georgia of the original thirteen, and the five states on the Gulf of Mexico—to less than an eighth of the territory, and less than a sixth of the population of the United States."

Well might the rebuked declaimer against the repose and existing policy of the Union pause to inquire why he would arrest the mighty wheel of progress, and endanger the noble machinery of the Confederation, to brush away a speck of dust that clings to its band of wisdom-tempered steel.

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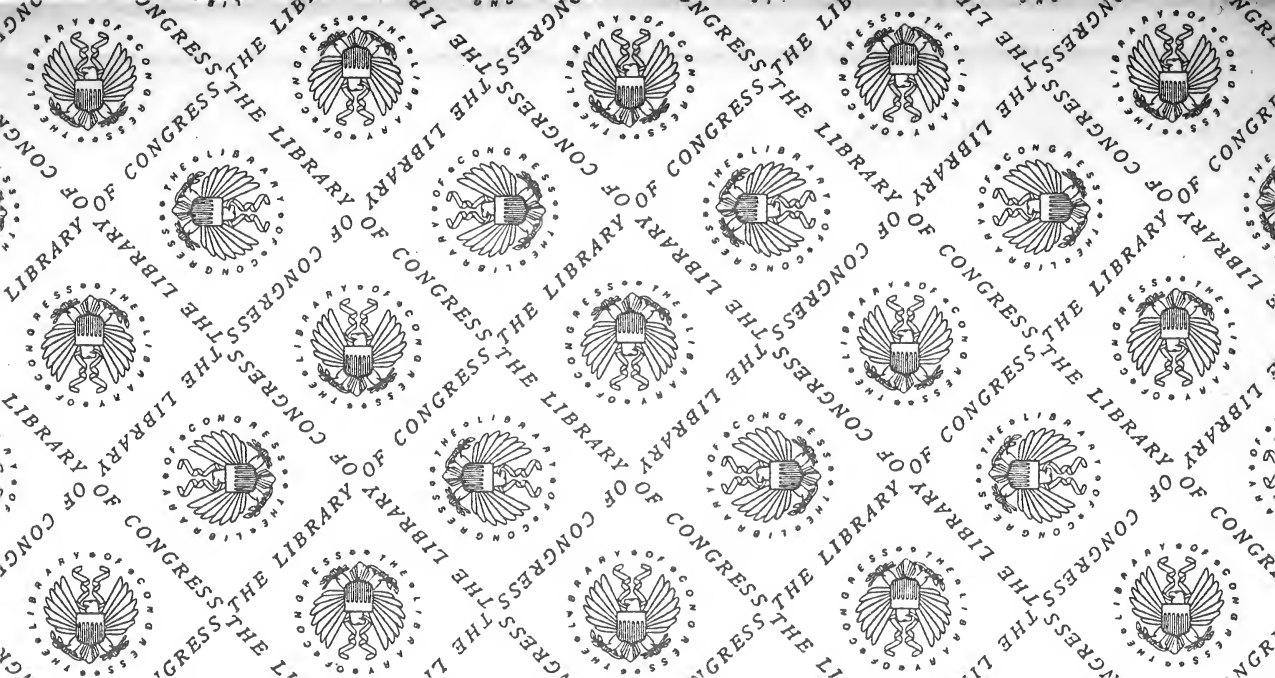
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